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conclusions (pp. 2, 7, 226). To seek, through a study of a group of theories, new light as to the mainsprings of economic action is to attack a problem of first interest; to answer it in the stock phrases of nineteenth century individualism, reiterating the debatable doctrine of the lazy, "economic" man spurred to action only by hunger and ambition, and to propose a benevolent feudalism as a way out, is at best to contribute nothing new to the field of discussion. The instincts of acquisition and emulation, on which Braibant lays the whole stress as motive forces, undoubtedly play a vital role in the development of economic institutions. It is, however, some years since careful students of these institutions have shown that the instinct of workmanship has an equally determining share. The services of this instinct and certain other subsidiary motives our author has either overlooked or denied.

Those desiring easy access to the economic psychology of communists, anarchists and Marxists, will find M. Braibant's book a handy and reliable way of getting it; those seeking new light on the motives for economic activity will meet disappointment.

JESSICA B. PEIXOTTO.

*Le Syndicalisme Contemporain.* By ALEXANDRE ZEVAES. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1911. Pp. 357. 3 fr.)

*Der moderne französische Syndikalismus.* By ANTON ACHT. (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1911. Pp. 185. 4.80 m.)

M. Zévaès is known through his book *Le Socialisme en France depuis 1871*. He now turns to a study of the history and present condition of syndicalism in France, as well as to the larger movement so far as it expresses itself through international associations.

Syndicalism has been defined as "the most recent device for making trouble between capitalist and laborer." It has come to stand popularly for antagonism to peaceful adjustments like those for which the Civic Federation is supposed to stand. Its appeal is not to arbitration or trade arguments or any development of collective bargaining. In its more recent development in France (and now aggressively in this country) syndicalism stands for the strike and especially for the "general strike." This leads the author to trace the history back to the mysteries of *compagnonnages*:—to the sharp chronic conflicts between masters and men during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries down to the abolition of *corporations* by the Constitutional Assembly in 1791. This act aroused stormy protests. In the following

June the fateful law was passed which until 1864 checked the laborer's right to strike and the rights of effective association until the eventful year of 1884. The author shows with admirable lucidity what this law meant. The lawyer, Le Chapelier, who reported it, insisted that there were only two interests: that of the individual and that of the general public. There were no *intermediary* interests like those of the carpenters, shoemakers and millers. He speaks of these as "leurs pretendus interets communs."

It is on this background that the author enables us to study syndicalism. In three chapters, including the International, he brings us to the law of 1884, which frees the trade-union and brings labor and active socialism with great rapidity into politics. In chapters 5 and 6 we see the rise of the Bourses des Travail, and the appearance of the general strike as a method. Then follows C. G. T. (Confédération Générale du Travail) which has played such havoc ever since with all ideas which assume common interests between employer and employed. The relation between this body and socialism is made clear, as are the relations between the *tactique reformiste* and the more revolutionary groups.

An illustrative chapter is given to the Railroad Strike and the General Strike of October, 1910, as well as a final chapter on the movement in the agricultural districts. Of special use to the student are the *Annexes*, which give admirable documentary matter on the present serious difficulties in France.

The more thorough study of Dr. Anton Acht, is, in its best sense, the work of the academic student. Dr. Acht is concerned with the history, theory and practice of this phase of socialism. He gives some seventy pages to the literature, the history, organization and personnel of the movement. In the main body of the volume is an extremely careful study of the revolutionary aspects of syndicalism; its principles and its methods; the class struggle, anti-patriotism, strike, boycott, and sabotage. This is followed by detailed criticism rendered the more useful by free citation of authoritative opinions from the leading syndicalists. A second part is devoted to the "reform branch"—a most disturbing form of modern socialism—with an attempt to estimate the relative influence of the two wings. The volume closes with a short chapter on the *lex Briand*, and the fruit of the recent railroad strike together with the fateful questions which it raised.

It is the essence of syndicalism to use the strength which its inclusive organization gives to *stop* industry. What then shall a government owning state railroads do if its own employees paralyze the system of transportation? It has heightened the interest in this sharp contest that socialists see clearly what awaits them if governmental responsibility is at last in their hands. What will the socialist state do if its own servants strike? Especially, what can it do if its own employees adopt the syndicalist method of the General Strike? To the brave Utopians who believe no such discontents would show themselves under socialism, this presents no terrors. But those whom responsibility has somewhat chastened see clearly that any socialist administration would have its malcontents, its "outs" precisely as we have them at present. The sinister weapon forged and sharpened in our competitive society would serve instant and dangerous uses in the socialist state. That a "reform party" should have arisen since 1905 indicates the hesitation over the logic of the general strike which the soberer minds come to feel. Except among these few, the movement is at heart anarchistic. It fears the alliance of socialism with parliamentary methods and all the centralizing discipline which this implies.

It is significant that our counterpart of syndicalism, The Industrial Workers of the World, held their first conference in Chicago in 1905, the year after the Haywood-Moyer trial. The leading spirits in Western Federation of Miners were prominent in this gathering and Haywood's pamphlet on "The General Strike" (printed by S. Schreiber, New York City, 1911) gives the spirit of the movement here. It is producing among us a new literature with several periodicals in English, Spanish, Polish and French. The "Industrial Worker," a weekly published in Spokane, Washington, will give the reader an idea of the propaganda.

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#### NEW BOOKS

ANTONELLI, E. *La démocratie sociale devant les idées présentes.* (Paris: Rivière. 1911. Pp. 269. 3 fr.)

BEBEL, A. *Bebel's reminiscences.* (New York: The Socialist Literature Co. 1911. Pp. 224. 75c.)

Translated from the first German edition, by Ernest Untermann.